

COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

VOL. 40.—No. 10.] LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 22, 1821. [Price 6d.

Published every Saturday Morning, at Six o' Clock.

COBBETT'S
LETTERS TO LANDLORDS,
*On the Agricultural Report
and Evidence.*

LETTER II.

Kensington, 18 September, 1821.

LANDLORDS,

33. AT the close of the last Letter, being paragraph 32, I gave the reasons for *numbering the paragraphs*. I should now proceed with my examination of the propositions contained in the Report of the Agricultural Committee, which propositions are all distinctly stated in paragraph 15 of Letter I. in Register of September 8th. But something has occurred, which demands immediate attention; and something, too, which appertains to the very essence of this most important subject.

34. In Worcestershire there has been a meeting of the YEO-MANRY, belonging to the Agricultural association of that county. These gentlemen, with Sir THO-

MAS WINNINGTON for their Chairman, have passed certain *resolutions*, which resolutions I look upon as of such great importance that I shall insert them here at full length, and then add such remarks of my own as the case appears to me to require.

35. It will be seen that the resolutions not only relate immediately to the subject of agricultural distress; but that they contain some very pertinent strictures on that very report, to elucidate which these letters of mine are intended; and that, in short, these resolutions go at once to the root of the evil. That which goes to the root of an evil, may with strict propriety be called *Radical*; these, therefore, are Radical resolutions. I insert the whole of the advertisement as I find it in the Worcester paper; begging my correspondents at Worcester to accept of my best thanks for having transmitted me copies of this paper. I applaud their *discernment*, upon this occasion. They saw at once the *importance of the*

2 E

Printed by C. CLEMENT, and published by J. M. COBBETT, 1, Clement's Inn.
[Price Sixpence Halfpenny in the Country.]

thing; they also saw how exactly it corresponded with my predictions; and their justice urged them to put me as soon as possible in possession of the facts.

Worcester, Sept. 8, 1821.

AT a numerous and highly respectable MEETING of the YEOMANRY belonging to the AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION of the County of Worcester, held at the Crown Inn, in this City, pursuant to public advertisement, Sir THOMAS WINNINGTON, Baronet, in the Chair:—

i. *Resolved unanimously,*

That the Committee of the House of Commons, to which the Agricultural Petitions were referred, has admitted the existence of the evils, complained of by the Agricultural Interests, to have been fully proved.

ii. *Resolved unanimously,*

That while the Committee thus admits the evil, it denies the efficacy of, and the propriety of granting, the remedy sought for in those Petitions; and it more than insinuates, that the change in the value of the Currency, brought about by the Act of the 59th Geo. III. commonly called Mr. Peel's Bill, is the principal cause of the Agricultural distress; and, at the same time, clearly expresses an opinion, that the prices of produce and labour, and consequently rents, will go back to the level from which the paper currency raised them.

iii. *Resolved unanimously,*

That this Meeting is of opinion, that the prices of produce and labour, and also rents, became,

generally, *doubled* during the existence of a depreciated paper currency; that the increased taxation of the country was founded upon such *doubled* prices, and that the great bulk of the National Debt, and of all private debts and obligations, were contracted in property and labour measured in those *doubled* prices.

iv. *Resolved unanimously,*

That the Committee, contemplating this reduction of prices, ruinous as it has already been to thousands, and overwhelming as it must ultimately prove to all, attempts to justify it on the ground of rigidly adhering to *good faith*, a principle which this Meeting at once recognizes; but this Meeting is at a loss to understand, how it consists with good faith, that the property of the Land-owner and Cultivator, and the prices of produce and labour, should be brought back from the level to which they had been raised by a depreciated paper currency to the ancient bullion standard, while the charges to the Fund-holder, the Sinecurist, and the Placeman, contracted in a similar paper currency, are exempted from a similar reduction.

v. *Resolved unanimously,*

That it appears to this Meeting, that not only will good faith be violated by attempting, under such circumstances and in so partial a manner, to return to the ancient bullion standard, but that the measures in progress for accomplishing this object will be found as impracticable as destructive; inasmuch as the ruin of the productive

classes of society must, in the end, recoil upon the unproductive, by making it impossible much longer to pay either the interest of the debt or the charges of the Government.

vi. *Resolved,*

That while we consider a great part of our distresses to have originated in the foregoing causes, we are still of opinion, that the admission of foreign grain, *duty free*, in this country, adds grievously to the difficulties of the landed interest, by allowing the foreign grower to reap the benefit of supplying our markets, without contributing any share of our taxes and burthens.

vii. *Resolved unanimously,*

That this Meeting, duly impressed with the value of the zealous endeavours and meritorious exertions of George Webb Hall, Esq. beg to return him their sincere thanks.

viii. *Resolved unanimously,*

That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Thomas Sherlock Gooch, Esq. M. P.; Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. M. P.; J. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P.; C. C. Western, Esq. M. P.; and to those other Members of the Legislature who with them have eloquently and ably advocated the cause of Agriculture.

ix. *Resolved unanimously,*

That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be also given to the Committee at Henderson's, for their great and valuable services.

That these Resolutions be inserted in the two Worcester newspapers, and also in the Farmer's Journal; and that a Petition,

founded on the above Resolutions, be presented to the House of Commons by the Members for the County.

(Signed)

THOMAS WINNINGTON.

The Chairman having left the Chair,

Resolved unanimously,

That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to him for his kindness in taking the Chair, and for his able conduct in the same.

36. LANDLORDS, I hope you will have read these resolutions with attention, and if you have, can you forbear to exclaim, "What! forget Cobbett! Not "thank him, without whose "writings these resolutions could "not have been passed and promulgated, without exposing the "association of Yeomanry to be "knocked in the head with stones "torn up from the pavement in "the streets of Worcester! What! "not thank *him*, who and who "alone, has taught the principles "upon which these resolutions "are founded; who has put into "the mouths of this Meeting, even "the very words that they make "use of; who has taught the "Country to be prepared for the "passing of such resolutions, and "for the grounding of Petitions "on them! Not thank him, "on whose pen these Yeomanry

" must still rely for success in their
 " endeavours to preserve them-
 " selves from ruin; and who has
 " only to take part against them to
 " cause their Petitions to be blown
 " to the Devil, and themselves to
 " be hooted to a degree that would
 " make them glad to follow those
 " Petitions! What! thank GAFFER
 " GOOCH; thank those poorgentle-
 " men SIR EDWARD KNATCHBULL,
 " MR. CURWEN, MR. WESTERN,
 " MR. WEBB HALL and the Com-
 " mittee at Henderson's Hotel!
 " Thank these poor inefficient
 " things that have failed in all
 " that they have attempted; that
 " have brought ridicule and con-
 " tempt on the cause of the Land-
 " lords and Farmers; these men
 " who did not dare to utter even a
 " whisper relative to the *real*
 " *causes of the distress*, as stated
 " in these very resolutions; to
 " thank these puny insignificant
 " creatures, who have no more
 " power to sustain the cause than
 " so many mice; to thank *them*,
 " while not a word is said of him,
 " who has the power to make that
 " cause succeed, or, so to mar it
 " as to render the distress of the
 " complaining parties a hundred
 " times greater than it now is,
 " before any relief should be
 " applied! "

37. There appears to be an

inveteracy, an absolute incurable-
 ness in the stupidity and false
 pride of this description of persons.
 However *their thanks* would have
 been received by me with much
 less satisfaction than I derive from
 beholding one of their labourers
 with an increased bulk in his
 hunch of bread and cheese; and,
 at any rate, I shall not, in the part
 which I shall take in this great
 matter, be influenced by any con-
 siderations of a private or personal
 nature. My great object is, as it
 always has been, since I have
 understood the subject, to *better*
the lot of the labouring classes.
 Provided that be done; provided
 that be the natural tendency of
 events, or of measures, I care very
 little what *other* effects those
 events or those measures may
 produce. I wish not to belong
 to a Nation, of which nineteen
 twentieths are "*poor*." I think
 myself dishonoured by being one
 of a Nation of paupers. The
 people of England are I know
 well the most industrious and per-
 severing in the world. They
 deserve to live better than the
 people of any other nation. Until
 of late years this has been their
 way of life. And never will I
 cease my efforts, as long as I am
 able to move a pen, to restore
 them to that state of merited pre-
 eminence.

33. Provided this object be accomplished, I care little about the other effects of the events and measures which are at hand ; and, the whole of my conduct during the *approaching struggle*, will be regulated by the answer which reason, at the several stages of the struggle, will give me to the following question : " Which is best ; " what is best, for the labourer " and the artisan and their families ? " The answer that reason will give me to this question shall be my guide. If reason tell me it is best for the landlords to fall, fall they shall as far as I have the power to send them down. If the decision be that the muck-worm ought to come down, the muck-worm shall have the heaviest blows that I can deal him. At present, I confess that I have not sufficiently considered the matter, to be able to say decidedly and with satisfaction to myself whether the millions would be most benefited by the fall of the Landlords or by that of the Fundholders. One or the other must come down. Not Omnipotence itself, without abrogating its own laws, could preserve both in a state of prosperity. This, therefore, is impossible. But I am very diffident in deciding which of the two we ought to wish to see fall ; for, if the Landlords

be resolved to *relax in no degree* that power which they now hold in excluding the people from their political rights ; then I should say, that, it would be better for us to try our luck with a new race ; for how can Jews or Turks or anything else, deal more hardly by us than we have been dealt by for many years past by the present arrogant owners of the soil !

39. Leaving, therefore, my decision as to this momentous question to be dictated by further experience and further reflection, I shall now beg the reader to observe well the substance of the five first of those resolutions of the Yeomanry of the County of Worcester, which I have inserted above.

40. These Yeomen have read, I am very certain, my Registers for some time back, and particularly my *New year's gift to the Farmers*, published in January last. Of this Register *two large editions have been sold* ; and it has doubtless been read by many thousands of the parties interested. I hold it to be *impossible* ; completely impossible, for any Farmer or Landlord, even of the meanest capacity to read that Register with common attention, and not arrive at the conclusion, expressed in the resolutions before us, that

it is Peel's Bill, which is the principal cause of what is called Agricultural distress. God knows how long I had been endeavouring to din it into the ears of the Nation, that it was the *rise in the value of money* which was ruining the Farmer and Landlord. From the beginning of the year 1814, up to the month of December 1820, I had been at work in all manner of ways, to endeavour to impress this doctrine upon the minds of the Nation. In 1814, when the Corn Bill question was first agitated; in 1815, when that Bill was passed; in 1816, when a Bill was passed to add to the import tax upon seeds; in every one of those years how often did I tell the Nation, that it was the *Bank* that was at work; that it was the Old Hag that was playing her tricks; and that it was not the importation of corn and superabundant harvests. How often did I appeal to the common sense of Mr. COKE, Mr. CURWEN and Mr. WESTERN; how often did I tell them that there was no real remedy but in a reduction of the Debt, the sinecures, the pensions, the grants, the salaries, the army, the staff, the barracks and the monstrous establishments of Military Academies so abhorrent to the laws and usages of England!

How often did I tell them, that to ask for a Corn Bill as a remedy was to disguise the real evil, and was, in fact, to give the Ministers, the most efficient support. In 1817 I drew up that petition, which was signed on the Hill of Portsdown by four thousand men, who prayed, in that petition, for a reduction of the interest of the Debt, and also for a reduction of the barracks, the staff, the army, the salaries, grants, pensions and sinecures. In 1818, though absent from my country, I sent a petition to the House of Commons, which a very great Landholder thought "*too long*" to be presented; and in that petition I prayed for a reduction of the Debt and of the salaries and other things above mentioned.

41. In short, from the moment of the first appearance of what is called *Agricultural distress*, I traced it to its true causes, laid those causes clearly before the Nation, and called aloud for the adoption of such measures as would have prevented that immense mass of ruin that we have witnessed already; that greater mass which we have yet to witness; and that indelible National disgrace, which we now exhibit to the sneering world, in the notorious fact, that *we are unable to*

go to War, even if a French ship were to sail up the Thames, and batter down the Docks of the Royal Yards of Woolwich or Deptford!

42. Amongst the *rewards*, that I received for these services, which millions could not pay me for upon any just principle of valuation, have been implacable persecution by the whole body of the government; laws brought in avowedly to crush me; malignity without a match from individuals even of the party opposed to the Ministers, one of which opposing party having been base enough to propose the *punishment of transportation*, to be made applicable to a case which was notoriously and *peculiarly mine*! To enumerate all the acts of implacable, mean, dirty, dastardly, shameless hostility, practised against me, would be to fill a volume; nay, fifty volumes would not suffice. One particular instance of this horrible baseness I must, however, mention here in detail.

43. In the month of March I was at an Inn in Warwickshire, staying a little while for the benefit of change of air: during that time, the Landlord of the Inn was *threatened* several times, as he told me, by the Landlords and

Farmers of the neighbourhood, unless *he turned me out of his house*, they would take their custom from him! When I had staid as long as I pleased, I went away; and directly afterwards the following advertisement appeared in the Coventry newspaper:

44. "*Merriden, 18 March, 1820.—We, the undersigned inhabitants of Merriden and its neighbourhood, in order to manifest our abhorrence and detestation of the principles of Cobbett and his Adherents, do hereby publicly express our astonishment and disgust at the conduct of the proprietors of the Bull's Head Inn, in having entertained him for so long a time, contrary to our general feelings and loyal spirit; and further declare that we neither have nor will have any connexion with Cobbett.*"

Aylesford	John Dodwell
E. Finch	Samuel Thompson, sen.
W. Somerville	Samuel Thompson, jun.
Thomas Smith	Thomas Phillips
Joseph Gibbs	John Loveitt
John Beaufoy	Thomas Oldham
Robert Bunney	George Proctor
William Zachary	George Downing
Humphrey Harper	S. Large
Thomas Johnson	Elizabeth Wiggin
Benjamin Lees	Thomas Shuttleworth
John Sabin	William Gibson
J. Alsager	John Guise
H. B. Bellison	John Perks
W. Sabin	Wm. Taylor, Constable
William Repton	Robert Taylor, ditto.

45. It is hardly necessary to say that the first fellow upon this list is the EARL of AYLESFORD; that the second is his uncle EDWARD FINCH, and who is a groom of the bed-chamber, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year, while, at the same time, he enjoys the emoluments as a Colonel of a regiment in a standing army in time of peace. One of the others was *Adjutant of the Warwickshire Yeomanry Cavalry*. The rest are a parcel of Farmers, and I see that there is one who is a *farm woman*. In consequence of this advertisement, I addressed a letter to this fellow AYLESFORD, which I concluded in these words, "You would do well, I believe, to shift your fears from me to the Fundholders, who, if I mistake not, will soon let you see, that there is something in the world more dangerous to you than 'the principles of Cobbett.' If my principles had been acted upon, instead of the principles of my bitter foes, you would, at this day, have had no cause to fear that which is to come. My principles, long ago upon record, would have effectually prevented all the present dangers. But you 'abhor and detest' those principles: take, therefore, the

"consequences, while I stand by and laugh. Good bye. Look after your hares and pheasants; and wait for the visit of the Fundholders."

46. How prophetic! This fellow is now receiving the visit of the Fundholders; he is now taking the consequence of his abhorrence of my principles; and I am standing by laughing! It is all come true. It is all accomplished; and that, too, in the short space of eighteen months. We are told that we are to love our enemies; but there is a *condition* attached to this: they are to *repent*, and make *atonement* first; for, otherwise this would be the most immoral maxim; the most unjust precept that ever was inculcated. God says: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" and this is the rule; the plain unmystical rule that I pursue.

47. However, to dismiss the fellow and his crew of undersigners, little did they imagine, that, in far less than eighteen months, the Yeomanry of a neighbouring county with a Baronet and great Landowner at their head would publicly meet at the County Town, and there discuss, adopt and proclaim, in the most solemn manner, "the principles of Cobbett;" those very principles

that this *thing* and his wretched followers had denounced as objects of their abhorrence and detestation!

48. The Worcestershire gentlemen appear to have come to their senses. They say this, that prices became doubled during the existence of a depreciated paper money; that the Debt was principally contracted on the scale of those double prices; that the "*good faith*," of which so much "has been said is not intelligible to them, if the Fundholder, the sinecurist and the placeman be not to experience a *reduction*;" that the Bill, commonly called "Mr. PEEL's Bill, will be found as impracticable as destructive;" and that, an attempt to enforce it will make it impossible much longer to pay either the interest of the Debt or the charges of the "Government."

49. Well said! out with it, dears! come; take t'other glass of warm water, and *bring it all up!* You have been ill for a long time with this overloaded stomach. Let us have it all out now since you have begun. Don't be ashamed. I'll stand by you if you behave well, and swallow your physic kindly. However, I must say that here is a pretty good beginning; and I venture to

predict, that, before this day twelve-month, the dose and the vomit will go round. If they should, *let the Fundholders look to their affairs*; for, though you could not carry a *Corn Bill*; that foolish; that unpopular, that odious measure, which was sure to raise up Merchants, manufacturers, and all the labouring classes against you; though you could not accomplish this, you will, if you go rightly to work, accomplish the other, and that, too, amidst the cheers of those, who, in the other case would have hooted you, and, if they could, have knocked out your brains; that is to say, of those of you who had any in your skulls.

50. LANDLORDS, these Worcestershire gentlemen have learnt from me to ridicule that "*good faith*," which, as you well know, I have been ridiculing for something more than nineteen years, and which "*good faith*" meant neither more nor less than this, to give the Fundholders three bushels of wheat and three pounds of bacon for every one bushel of wheat and one pound of bacon that they had lent them! It was time, long and long enough ago to put an end to such "*good faith*" as this. Nevertheless, I was abused like a hang-dog for proposing to put an end to it; and,

upon one occasion, CASTLEREAGH called it a *treasonable design*, in speaking of the resolutions of the Reformers respecting the necessity of putting an end to this cormorant devourer. It is curious enough, that one of the charges against the *Reformers*, contained in the *Lords' Report*, which was the prelude to the ever-memorable power of imprisonment Bill; it is curious enough, that, in this report, the Reformers were accused of representing the fundholder as a "*rapacious creature*;" and that, during the last Session of Parliament, Mr. LITTLETON, who is a great Landholder, represented the Fundholder as a "*monster of consumption*." *Monster of consumption* is a little more violent than *rapacious creature*, and yet Mr. LITTLETON was not even called to order.

51. The gentlemen of Worcestershire come to this conclusion; that Peel's Bill ought to be done away, or, that the interest of the Debt, the sinecures, and salaries ought to be reduced. This is what I have been saying ever since the Bill was passed; but I have also said that the Bill *cannot* be carried into full effect unaccompanied with such reduction. This is also now said by these gentlemen of Worcestershire; for they say,

that the bill is *impracticable* without the reduction. This is precisely what I wrote home the moment I read the substance of the bill. These gentlemen, therefore, are pledged to the GRIDIRON as well as myself. I give them a general invitation; or, rather, I hereby summon the whole body, with Sir THOMAS WINNINGTON at their head, to attend me at the Feast of the Gridiron, whenever, and in whatever part of the kingdom, I shall choose to hold that feast. Sometime before it takes place I shall depute persons, of which Sir THOMAS WINNINGTON shall be one, to hold my *court of claims*. I will have one man to hold my pen; another my paper; another my ink and so on; and I'll utter and publish such parcels of bombast as the world has scarcely ever witnessed before.

52. Mind, this festival is to be held in any of these three cases: first, if Peel's Bill be repealed; second, if the interest of the debt be touched in any shape whatever before the month of June 1823; third, if the whole thing go off like a barrel of gunpowder at any time before that month. These are the cases in which the feast of the gridiron is to take place. I wish this to be clearly understood; be-

cause I do not wish to keep my disciples with their horses saddled for any great length of time. If they hear of a *change of Ministry*; not through the Morning Chronicle, for Mr. PERRY is so keen of place; the scent is so strong in his nostrils, that he goes breast-high and often over-runs his game. Or, rather, he resembles a too tender-nosed dog, that stops at a lark. Whipping has proved wholly unavailing; and, therefore, we must wholly disregard him. But, if we see the old lurching slouch of the COURIER, make but the slightest stop. If we see him only hang back a little upon his haunches, and begin to step cautiously, and slowly turn his head up towards the wind: then we must prepare; for, if a change of Ministry take place; if a splicing, or patching, an any thing at all of the kind take place, it must be, and it can be, for no other purpose than that of repealing Peel's Bill, or of reducing the interest of the Debt. Therefore, watch the COURIER; and the moment this Scotchman, brother in law of Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH, begins to hang upon his haunches, put on your saddles and your boots; be upon duty day and night, for my summons will come upon you swift as the post can bring it.

53. The Worcestershire Yeomanry, do not appear to have made up their minds which they ought to apply for; a reduction of the Debt or a repeal of Peel's Bill. The former, by all means, gentlemen, if you please. The latter would only put off the evil day; and that, perhaps, for a very short space of time. Until the interest of the Debt be reduced; and that *more than one-half*, too, this nation never can go to war; and the Landlord will never have an acre that he can call his own. This has all been proved over and over again by me. The safety of the country and of the King's Throne demanded such reduction twenty years ago. To be convinced of the *justice* and *necessity* of such a measure, no one has any thing to do but to read "Paper against Gold;" and especially the PRELIMINARY PART of that work. I wished the measure to be adopted nineteen years ago. In 1806 I communicated a distinct and detailed plan to the then Ministry; and if that plan had been adopted, the present difficulties would never have existed. In this PRELIMINARY PART, I have not supposed (for who *could* suppose) any thing so monstrous as an attempt ever being made to compel the productive classes of

Society to pay the unproductive classes three times the amount of what had been borrowed. I have not, in that work, entertained the supposition that there ever would arise men to make the bees give the drones three times as much as they then gave them. I take the thing as it then stood; and, with a full knowledge of the then depreciated state of the paper money, I prove as clear as daylight, that justice and necessity demand a reduction of the interest of the Debt. In that work is contained the *whole argument*; an argument that has been a thousand times abused; but never has been once answered. I there stand upon the ground of the justice and necessity of the thing before so monstrous a thought was entertained by any human being as that of *trebling* the interest of the Debt by so augmenting the value of money as to reduce prices to a third. And, if my argument was good in *that case*, what must that argument be in this case!

54. In the course of these letters to the Landlords, I shall unveil, lay bare, and scatter to the winds, all the miserable delusions contained in the Agricultural Report, relative to the *relief* which the Landlord is to receive from a *rise in the price of the funds*. The

rise in the price of the funds may tend to relieve some of those who have Israelitish annuities fastened upon their estates; but how is this to relieve the mortgager; the man bound by marriage settlements; the life holder; and the various other descriptions of encumbered persons; and if all these could be relieved, or destroyed and got rid of wholly; what is to take from the land the all-pervading mortgage of *eight hundred millions*, which, though not recorded against the separate states upon parchment, bilks the Landlord of his income; bilks the Merchant, the Tradesman, the Farmer of their fair profits; and, which in my eyes is a great deal worse than all the rest, bilks the labourer and the handicraftsman of a large portion of their earnings, strips them of their hustlement and their wearing apparel, makes their homes desolate, pinches them in their meals, deprives them of every thing worthy of the name of pleasure, makes them discontented and justly discontented, fills their minds with habitual anger against the whole state of things under which they live, makes them impatient under all subordination; in short, makes them impute to the very form and nature of the government all those suffer-

ings which the Debt alone inflicts upon them, and thus compels the Government, for the purpose of *inforcing* subordination, to resort to a monstrous standing army in time of profound peace, which, while it adds to the jealousy and irritation of the people, makes a large addition to the taxes, to the drain from the fruits of the labour of that very people, and, thereby, augments the danger against which it is intended to guard.

55. This is then, indeed, a monster of consumption. A Monster, to furnish which with food other monsters are resorted to. It cannot be the wish of the Landlords of England that there should be a thundering standing army in time of peace. It can hardly be the wish of any set of Ministers; for, if it give them patronage, they must be compelled to give it, out of their own hands, and leave it to the distribution of others. This enormous expence, therefore, of about *seven millions* a year, *over and above what it was before the French war*; this seven millions a year is a sort of retainer to the Debt. The necessity for this expenditure is created by the Debt, and the same may be said of the *police*, the secret service money and various other articles of expence. Therefore, to get rid of

this Debt; or, at the very least, to reduce it down to a mere trifle, is absolutely necessary *previous* to any considerable reduction of the army. The Debt is the Nation's devil. It is the cause of all its calamities. And reduced it must be, by some means or other, or this nation will never again know the blessings of internal peace, any thing to the contrary in Mr. JUDGE BAILEY'S financial creed, notwithstanding.

56. Yet, to accomplish this great purpose, the people must be on the side of the reducers; and to have the people on their side, the Landlords must act a part very different indeed from that which they have lately acted. It is very true, that I have no taste, and I know well that the people have no taste to live under the domination of the Israelites; but it is not easy to imagine, that the Israelites, even if left to themselves, would go much farther than absolute power of imprisonment Bills, Sidmouth's circular, Six Acts, Manchester affair, and Bill of Pains and Penalties. I have a great personal dislike to the Jews; but I am not aware of any very great additional inconvenience that would arise to the people from their possessing the soil. JOHN SWANN would find four

years and a half of imprisonment full as pleasant under them as under those that sent him to that four years and a half imprisonment: in short, if it is to be merely a transfer of the lands from the present possessors to the mushrooms of the 'Change; if the people are to gain nothing by this being prevented; I can see no reason why they should endeavour to prevent it, while I can see many reasons why they should endeavour to let the law take its course.

57. It is impossible to believe that we shall suffer such an occasion to pass, without an effort to regain our lost rights; those rights for which we have so long been contending. In my *leave taking address*, when I sailed for America, I said, that there would, at last, be an "*open struggle between the land and the funds*"; that, if, in that struggle we did not obtain a Reform we *never should*." That struggle is now come. The resolutions which I have above inserted form a sort of declaration of war. This declaration will be imitated, I am very certain; and if those who have the power to do it, give the people their rights, the Nation is safe, the King's throne is safe, and we have before us, a long course of happy days. But unless we have those

rights, unless we be suffered to raise our heads; if we are still to be marks of persecution and of obloquy, why should we give our consent to any measure that is to relieve the Landlords and save their estates?

58. As to the *sort* of Reform. As to the more or the less; I am not for quarrelling with any body about a mere name. There are some that talk of a *moderate Reform*. It is nonsense; but even of this nonsense they only *talk*. They *do* nothing. They still beard us with their *parchments*, and tell us we are scum if we have none; though we contribute towards the maintenance of the Government, the army and the debt people; and though our persons are liable to be forced out to be employed in defence of their lands. Why not give us their *moderate Reform*, and take from us the possibility of *desiring to get at justice through the means of a convulsion*? Why not give us that same "*moderate Reform*," and not entertain the wild and ridiculous hope of being able to keep us at bay while they disembarass themselves of the Fundholder?

59. One thing I will never depart from, and that is this; that I will never cease to oppose, never cease to annoy, as far as I legally

may, any man, or any body of men, who, having the power to do it, shall refuse or shall neglect to do justice to the *memory of the Queen*, and to the *persecuted Reformers of 1817, 1818, 1819, 1820, and 1821*. To this will I hold. From this I will never depart. If justice be not done to these men, I care not who suffer. Until that justice be done, the distress, the anguish, the ruin and racking torments of the persecutors give me pleasure. Divers other things I would yield. I lay wholly out of the question all redress *for myself personally*; for God has blessed me with health and spirits to weather the storm; but this is my solemn determination, that, under all circumstances, at all times, and in whatever situation I may be placed, I never will cease to endeavour to obtain justice for the basely persecuted Reformers of the five above mentioned years. Upon this score I submit to no compromise; and, if I see no disposition in those who have the power to do justice, to do that justice, I hereby pledge myself, that those persons, be they who they may, shall experience at my hands all the thwarting, all the annoyance, all the injury that it shall be in my power lawfully to bring into play against them.

60. In the next letter I shall pursue my examination of the propositions contained in the Report of the Agricultural Committee. Before I have done with those propositions, the Landlords that read me will see their fate as clearly as they can see their faces in a glass; and, though that fate is by no means consolatory, I shall point out to them how they may rescue themselves and their country from the terrible curse that now hangs over them. I am aware, that I have said many provoking and irritating things. I am also aware that stubbornness and pride are as excusable in others as they are in myself. If I have been deeply injured, I have taken deep revenge. I by no means wish to live in strife to the end of my days. If I could see complete justice done; that is to say, full compensation made, to the persecuted Reformers of the above five years, I should be ready to declare, that I felt no enmity towards any human being, always save and except the hell-hound *private-letter party*. I am as desirous as any man to see peace restored to the Nation. I can have no interest in convulsions of any kind. In short, no man is more anxious than I am to contribute towards the re-

moval of the present difficulties ; and yet, I am compelled to see them with pleasure, because, I, at present, see in them the only possible chance of the people obtaining fair play, and of the abused, insulted and persecuted Reformers obtaining redress.

61. Some gentleman has just sent me the *Edinburgh Review*, which, I find *takes part with the Fundholders*, applauds *Peel's Bill*, says, with the ORACLE, that the *Monish* has been raised only *four and a half per cent*, and concludes, that, if, to keep "*good faith*," a *quarter part of the lands be transferred to the Jews*, it will give us *national prosperity* ! Ah ! here these *feelosefers* are in their true character ! They are the mouth-piece of the *Whigs*, mind ; and, therefore, Messrs. Landlords, take care of *that faction*. These *Edinburgh fellows* take *Mr. Mushett* by the hand. They prate away about *retrenchment* and *economy* as the *effectual remedy*, and say, that, if *four or five millions* are cut off from the annual expenditure, the nation will *bound forward* ! Wretched drivellers ! why, that amount has, in fact been *added* to the taxes, since *May last*, by the rise, since *that time*, in the value of money ! These coxcombs call themselves "*states-*

men !" Miserable is the nation that is under the guidance and controul of such "*Collective Wisdom*" as this ! These *feelosefers* eulogize the government on account of *Peel's Bill*, and well they may ; for, it was, in fact, the work of the *Grenvilles* and the *Whigs* more than of the ministers. However, I shall, in the course of these LETTERS take in the doctrine of the *feelosefers* as well as the statements of *MR. MUSHETT* ; and I shall, I fancy, convince the Landlords, that *they* have no hope but in the support of the *people*, who are, though not in the same degree, also interested in the *reduction of the Debt*.

WM. COBBETT.

TO

MONEY HOARDERS.

MY FRIENDS,

READ the foregoing letter to the Landlords ! You see, that those of *Worcestershire* are about to *petition* Parliament for a *repeal of Peel's Bill*, or, a *Reduction of the interest of the Debt*. Whether they obtain either is a *question* ; but, that question will depend very much *upon themselves*. They may, perhaps, *next*

Session, obtain neither; but, the *reduction* **MUST** come at last, and it *may* come soon. The Landlords have only to declare for *Reform*, in almost any degree, and they carry their point at once; for their interests square with those of the people at large as to the Debt.

Look sharp, then, you that have what is ridiculously called "*Money in the Funds*." For, whenever these petitions come before Parliament, *they will be discussed*; and, perhaps, *referred to a Committee*! For, the "*Collective Wisdom*" will not treat *these* petitions as they did the petitions of the Reformers. The Landlords have the *power*, if they have but the *courage*, to enforce the prayer of their petitions. At the very least, it is *possible*, that they will carry their point soon; and it is certain that it must be carried in the *end*. Therefore, the funds must receive a *shock*. They must fall greatly in price the moment the question comes to be at issue. Is it not then perfect madness, in those who own stock, and who have no other dependence for the support of their families to suffer that stock to meet the batterings of the storm which is approaching?

It is the grossest delusion that

ever was attempted to be practised upon mankind, to pretend to believe that the interest of this Debt can continue to be paid to the full nominal amount, while it is a notorious fact, or, at least, it is notorious to all men acquainted with the subject, that the currency of the *whole world*, has, since the year 1814, been reduced one half in point of quantity. A few years ago the price of a bushel of Indian corn in Long Island was *ten shillings* in New York money: the last intelligence that I had, stated a bushel of that same corn (shelled corn) to be forty five cents, that is to say, about three shillings and seven pence of New York money. Why, it is insanity beyond Bedlam to imagine that the interest of this debt can be paid to its full nominal amount in any currency other than that of depreciated paper. Where then is the excuse for father, mother, guardian or trustee, who persists in keeping in the funds that which is to support and provide for children?

And, now, let me address myself to those who have money kept in the funds *against their will*. There are two classes of these. The money of one has been placed there and is kept there by order, by *positive command* of the Court of Chancery, which

command has the sanction of positive Acts of Parliament. Now I hold, that this being the act and deed of the nation, the nation is bound, under all possible circumstances, to make this money good to the parties. The other class, namely, those whose property is kept in the funds against their will by guardians, trustees, consignees, or what not, have no such claim upon the nation; for they must submit to the evil which the choice of the parents or others has entailed upon them. However, if I had property in the funds, held there against my will, by guardians or trustees that were perverse enough to refuse my just and reasonable request to have the property invested in land, I would sell my right to the funded property, would touch the money; would receive the Sovereigns; and, if I stood in need of the interest, surely a mortgage on lands (if I did not like to purchase) would be as good as having my name entered in the great book. Some persons stand situated thus. *John* is to have the interest of so much stock for his life, after which it is to come to his children, who are not yet of age, and who, therefore, have no means of counteracting the perverseness of a trustee. But *John* can counteract

his perverseness. He can sell his life interest as easily as he can sell his life interest in a landed estate. There is another way: he may grant *annuities* upon it, and thus get the money into his own hands. So that, if people thus situated should become beggars, the fault will be entirely their own; and let all such people recollect, that, when once it comes to be seriously discussed in *Parliament*, whether the interest of the Debt shall be reduced or not, funded property will sell for probably not more than half as much as it will sell for now!

I am aware that great numbers of landholders are also fundholders; that even some of the greatest of the Boroughmen are some of the greatest of Fundholders. I am well aware of the double game that they have been playing, I am well aware also of the numbers of base huckstering Farmers that have been sending up to their Brokers the proceeds arising from the half starved labourers' toil during the last twenty years. But, though these are great when received by themselves, they are little when viewed in comparison with the whole body of Landlords, Parsons, Merchants, and Tradesmen of all the numerous descriptions. Besides

the few big *seat*-gentlemen who have masses in the funds, do in some measure depend upon the smaller Landlords for support. These smaller Landlords are very numerous; each of them has his family to provide for, his mansion, his estate, his name to preserve. It is like taking the heart from out of the living body to put these in jeopardy. There is a strict connexion between this body and the Clergy of the Established Church, who have all the interests and all the feelings of Landlords. With these two are naturally united one half of the whole of the population of the kingdom, that is to say, the labourers in husbandry and the handicraftsmen of various descriptions dependent on husbandry. It is impossible to view the classes who have so powerful an interest in a reduction of the Debt, without being convinced that that reduction must and will take place.

Therefore, again I say, *sell out while you can*. If you can keep the money in *Gold* for a year, do it; if you absolutely want the interest, place the money upon mortgage on *lands*, and by no means on houses except in the middle of towns; for, as to the fine rows of new houses; those mushrooms of false prosperity, abandoned they

will be as surely as place-hunter will abandon any Minister whom he sees likely to be turned out of office. Place your money on something that is much about what it was thirty years ago; and, if you receive a somewhat smaller interest you will be at any rate secure.

A Correspondent reminds me of the situation of *benefit Societies*. What a monstrous thing, that the savings of these industrious bees; these interesting swarms for whose safety every generous heart must entertain the most anxious solicitude; what a monstrous thing, that their little all, their store against a rainy day, should be made to rest upon a fabric of paper which a single vote of Parliament, and which almost the common operations of forgers may scatter to the winds! These benefit societies should, without loss of time, see that their store is secured upon mortgage on lands; for, if the funds were to tumble down to ten per cent; if they were to be annihilated by law; these societies *would have no claim upon the Nation*; seeing that the deposit made of their money in the funds *has been their own act and deed*. Were it not for this debt, the millions of labourers and artisans would not have to pay

a salt tax, a malt tax, a shoe tax, a soap tax, and a candle tax. Those, therefore, who endeavour to uphold this debt, of necessity endeavour to uphold these taxes; and can the benefit Societies who are Fundholders, imagine that the millions who are compelled now to pay them interest, will think themselves bound to make good any loss that may arise from their selfish speculation?

Sell out, therefore, Benefit Societies; or, if you do not, do me the justice to remember, that I have warned you of the consequences.

It will be said, perhaps, that, if the danger be such as I have described it, *nobody will buy stock*. And certainly very few would, if they were to *read what I write!* But they *do not read*. The great mass of dealers in stock would not know that I was in existence, if it were not for the abuse of me which they read in the newspapers. A gentleman being, a little while ago, at Brighton, asked in some reading room for Cobbett's Register. "Oh!" said the man, "we don't take that: it is a *Radical Pamphlet*." So much the better, Reader; so much the better for you. To be sure there is a thundering increase of readers of this "*Radical Pamphlet*;" but,

allowing ten readers to each copy of the Register; or take the average at fifty thousand readers; and allowing fifty thousand more that are influenced by readers, what is this compared with the whole mass? Besides, the Register circulates in channels far different from those which center in Change Alley, where I am by no means popular. So that you need not fear that the Register will have much influence on the purchasers of stock, who live in and breathe an air that absolutely disqualifies them from judging rightly in a case like this. Rude minded men in the country, that have what they call their *mooney in foonds*, have no more idea of the thing's being fragile than they have of the removal of a county from the South to the North. But, even these unclean beasts read what passes in Parliament; and they know what the reducing of interest means. Therefore, when they shall read about petitions for *reducing the interest of the Debt*, they will rub their fat eyes and look at the thing again. They'll take the *paypear*, or the *gazzerd*, with them to market, and they'll ask the Attorney or Banker what it can *mean*. When they find that they are to receive less in their dividends than they used

to receive, they'll scratch their polls, and will soon be as wise as if they had read the Register for the last twenty years.

WM. COBBETT.

JUDGES' CHARGES.

I HAD to notice some time ago, certain passages in the charges of two of the Judges on the Northern Circuit. I, at that time, requested friends in the country to keep their eye on the newspapers, which should give an account of any curious and *extrajudicial matter* which might appear in print, as coming from the lips of any of these learned and venerable personages. Two gentlemen have been so kind as to send me a copy of the BRISTOL MIRROR, of the 8th September, 1821, containing a brief sketch of the proceedings at the Somersetshire Assizes; from which sketch I make the following extract:—"STOKES v. WHEELER.—This was an action to recover 7*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* the balance of an original debt of 8*l.* 4*s.* to which the Defendant pleaded the general issue as to all except 1*l.* 4*s.* which he had tendered and paid into Court. The Plaintiff having proved the original debt of 8*l.* 4*s.* the De-

fendant immediately called a respectable witness, who proved the payment of 7*l.* in Frome Market-place. The *Learned Judge* left it to the Jury to say whether the payment of the 7*l.* was proved to their satisfaction, who expressed themselves to that effect, and returned a verdict for the defendant.—From an observation which dropped from Mr. Serjeant Pell, counsel for the Plaintiff, that his client did not chuse to take advantage of the tender which was not legal, the same being made in a one pound Bank of England note and silver; the *Learned Judge* expressed *his hope* that there would not be an attorney found on the circuit *who would advise his client to refuse a tender because made in Bank of England paper*; admitting, that although it was settled lately to be an illegal tender, it was in point of fact, of more value than the present gold currency."

Now, I find no account of which of the "learned Judges" this was; and, I do not pretend to aver that it was ever uttered by any Judge at all, and that it was not a mere fabrication of the Editor of the newspaper. But, it is a publication; it is gone forth over the Country; here are certain propo-

sitions stated in print ; and, upon these propositions, without pretending to ascribe them to any Judge, I shall take the liberty freely to comment.

What have we here, then ? Why, that it has been recently settled, that Bank of England paper is an *illegal tender* ; and yet, that the Judge expressed *his hope*, that no Attorney would be found upon the Circuit to *advise his Client to refuse such tender* ! Why, let me take the liberty to ask ? Why, I say : for *what reason* should a *hope* be expressed by a *Judge* that an Attorney would not advise his client to refuse a tender that *was not legal* ?

I shall leave the reader to guess at the reason for the expression of this *hope* ; and, if he should guess that it amounted to no very strong proof of a desire in certain quarters to prevent a check being given to the circulation of Bank Paper ; if this should be his guess, what will you say to the assertion, ascribed to the "learned Judge," that the Bank of England paper, "was, *in point of fact*, of *more value* than the *present gold currency* ?" What will he say to this !

Soon after the Bank began to pay in Sovereigns, I related, that I was informed, that suspicious

looking, shabby genteel scoundrels were seen in the Coffee Houses in London, and in the Market Towns on Market days in the Inns, talking about the Sovereigns, calling them *tokens*, and saying that they were *light*, or made of base metal. Insinuations of the same kind were published in the Courier newspaper, at and about the same time. This I could easily account for ; but, to hear the *king's coin* undervalued by one of his Majesty's Justices of his Courts ; to hear this coin undervalued, disparaged, put beneath the rags of Threadneedle Street ; put beneath the paper of a company of Merchants, who stopped payment twenty - four years ago, who have never yet resumed payment under legal obligation, and who are only now paying under their "*sound discretion* ;" to hear this, in words boldly imputed to a Judge, and as uttered by him, too, sitting on the bench in his Judicial capacity, is, I must confess, what I could not have anticipated ; but it is, at the same time, if I am to credit the authenticity of the publication, a great deal more than sufficient to confirm me in the wisdom of every particle of that advice, which I have so urgently pressed upon the hoarders of money. Not more

than eight and forty hours has a Bank note remained in my possession, since the Old Lady began to treat us with Gold ; but, after reading the above words imputed to a Judge I should think myself in some degree of peril if I suffered such note to be my inmate from ten o'clock at night till ten the next morning. Filthy devils of things ! Never will I touch them again, if, by any means, not absolutely ruinous, I can possibly avoid it.

But, and is it really true, then, that a Judge can have said upon the Bench that the notes of a company of Merchants, assuming them all to be good ; that is to say, assuming them all not to be forged ; can it be true that a Judge has said upon the Bench, that the notes of a company of Merchants, and *such* a company, too, are of *more value* than the King's Coin ? This is a thing not to be reasoned about. We could hear with some degree of patience Mr. JUDGE BAILEY crying up the blessings of National debts and taxation, in his charge to the Yorkshire Grand Jury in the famous year of 1819. We did not expect from a lawyer any very deep insight with regard to such matters ; and though we might lament that the venerable personage should think it becoming

his station to read lectures on political economy from the Bench, we excused the effusion on account of the possible goodness of the motive. But here, in this West Country affair, there is really something so naked ; something so *bare* ; something so directly offensive to our understandings ; something so indecent ; something so of the Change Alley nature, and so unnatural to every other spot of the habitable globe, that one cannot endure the idea of seriously ascribing it to one of those twelve men, to preserve respect and veneration for whose characters, ought to be, with the Government, an object second to no other, and equal to that of preserving respect and veneration for Royalty itself. The respect which the people of England, for ages and for centuries, bore towards the Judges ; the implicit confidence which they had in their wisdom as well as their integrity, has, during those ages and centuries, been the great and best characteristic of the Government. Sorrowful, indeed, would it be to see this characteristic annihilated ; and whether expressions like those above cited tend or tend not to such sorrowful effect, I leave the Nation, and particularly the Judges themselves, to determine.

At the very moment when I am writing, there are *five* unfortunate creatures under sentence of death (if they are not now at this moment actually swinging from the gallows) for the forging of five pound Bank of England notes! Recently at Manchester, in the verifying of a hundred one pound notes of the Bank of England, no less than *thirty-five* were found to be forged! And it is this paper, is it, that is of *more value*, than the *King's coin*?

I should like to know who the Judges were that were upon the Western Circuit this year, and particularly, what Judge it was that sat on the civil side. Not that I wish to point out this particular Judge for public animadversion on his conduct; for, I do not impute the words to any Judge; but, it is but fair, that the Judge to whom the words are imputed should have an opportunity of removing the impression which they are so calculated to make upon the public mind; and I am sure that it is no more than fair that the *rest* of the Judges should not bear any portion of the effect of such expressions.

Being upon the subject, I will just take the liberty to observe, that, in my opinion, *extrajudicial matter of no kind* ought ever to

be heard from the lips of a Judge, sitting on the Bench. Even moral and religious principles, unless involved in the case before the Judge, should be kept to sanctify and preserve the purity of his own breast; and as to *politics* and especially heated politics of the day, and questions of political economy, under angry agitation, they are, to the administration of law and justice, what the obtrusion of bodily diseases would be in the affairs of love. Some Poet has observed, that, at the idea of these; at the idea of an issue or of a weeping from the evil, Cupid instantly claps his wings and takes his flight; and at the very sound of angry politics Justice tears off her bandage, dashes her scales to the ground and remains a hideous haradan armed for slaughter.

I cannot conclude this article without observing, that, as far as I have perceived, the present Chief Justice has never indulged in any of these extrajudicial effusions; and though I presume not to decide upon his general character and deportment, judging, as I must, from the mildness of his manner, and from the perfect impartiality which were visible in his conduct in cases where I myself was concerned, I cannot refrain from expressing a wish, that, in

these respects, his example will not be thrown away upon those who are his inferiors in point of station.

WM. COBBETT.

BREWING BEER.

THE following letter appears to contain some very useful hints, I therefore insert it without further comment, which, indeed, is unnecessary, as it speaks very plainly for itself.

Sept. 3, 1821, Cheapside.

SIR,

In your Cottage Economy No. 2. paragraph 69, you invite a method to be pointed out to promote a restoration of the practice of Cottage Brewing. I have observed in those Countries where wine is made, it is customary to distil the refuse into what is called Aquadente or Brandy; but as very many of the Country people in the interior possess very small vineyards, after they have made their wine, they carry the refuse to the Still of some rich proprietor, and pay him for the use of it by the day, at an

accustomed price (not as any favour) and he leaves them to work at it by themselves and their assistants; that is, the proprietor lends the entire possession of his Still for the time wanted. Now, then, why not the Ironmongers throughout the country, as a Business matter, place one of the Brewing Machines in each of the villages around him, to be lent out for hire by the day? What is to prevent any little Village Shop-keeper doing the same? It would be an additional profit to their other little concerns, if a labourer or private workman, as a carpenter or any other, were to purchase a Machine, instead of placing his money in the Saving Banks; he would feel an interest by it, and have the satisfaction of seeing his property safe in his own possession. And why not even the Mangling women do the same? The Brewing Machine would pay as well as the Mangle, and a few old women could club their little proportions together for purchasing one, as well as others. The cost would be 8*l.*; and if they lent it out at 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, it would pay an interest of 146 per cent. even at 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, if only lent out three days in the week. Its utility would soon be felt, every one might have the quantity

wanted; say, one would want one gallon, another four, another six, and so on. As the Machine would be hired for the day, it would only cost them one penny a gallon for it's use, as only one among them would be the hirer: they could easily settle their different quantities among themselves; and the owner of the Machine would have no other trouble, than to give out the Machine to one hirer, and to receive it back again. I believe many very respectable persons in London are prevented brewing their own beer, on account of the expense of the Utensils, and the want of room to keep them in, which this lending mode would remove. Should this letter be acceptable to you, I shall feel particularly happy in rendering any public good.

Your obedient Servant,

John Hops.

In my Gardening Book there is an error, which I wish to correct. It is in paragraph 159. The sentence is this: "But, then, care must be taken to sow early enough in the fall for the plants to come up before the frosts set

"in." There is a *not* left out here. It should have been, "*not* to sow early enough." This error is corrected by the context; but it is of such great importance, that I think it necessary to point it out to my readers in this way, especially as a new edition of the book is just come out without the error having been perceived. I take this opportunity of acquainting the gentleman who has written to me on the subject of *American Husbandry*, that I know of no book on the subject, either in this country or in that country that is at all intelligible even to those that have been husbandmen from their infancy. Gardening books have generally been written by *Gardeners by profession*; very good Gardeners, I dare say, as Mr. Forsyth was; but Gardeners are seldom writers; and besides, they always fall into the fatal error of presuming, *that their readers are already Gardeners*. And, to say the truth, this is the universal fault of all the book teachers of all arts and all sciences in England and America. The French present a model for us to follow in this respect, they always proceed upon the supposition, that the reader is wholly ignorant of every part of the art or science that they have to teach. As to books on

farming. I have always found them wholly destitute of principles, except the work of Mr. TULL. I have found in them nothing but *directions* and narrative, intolerable loads for the memory, without any thing to assist and to exercise the mind.—The request of the gentleman above alluded to, that I would write a book on American Agriculture, I take as a great compliment, but it is what I cannot undertake.

IN speaking of the late Inquests, I stated that the Attorney who cut such a figure there, and whose name was *Henson*, was the father-in-law of Lord Portsmouth. This I find was an error. Lord Portsmouth's father-in-law is an Attorney, but his name is *Hanson*; and this *Hanson* it is, I believe, whose name appears in the Red Book as Solicitor to the Stamp Office. It is John *Hanson*. I by no means wish to insinuate that there is any thing improper in the daughters of Attorneys marrying *Lords*; for, on the contrary, I think such matches very suitable, and tending to the public good, not less than to the good of the Noble families themselves; for what a set of creatures would they become if

they were to continue for a long series of years to marry only one amongst another. I am always glad when I hear that a Lord has married a play actress; and I admire the unvarnished statement in the Peerage of Lord CRAVEN and Lord THURLOW, where they say flat and plain, one that he married the daughter of John BRUNTON of Norwich; and the other, that he married the daughter of Richard BOLTON, of St. Martin's in the fields. I do not so much like the Peerage of Lord Portsmouth, who was married to the daughter of John HANSON of Bloomsbury Place, ESQUIRE. I don't like your *Esquires* in such a case. This *Hanson* is no more an *Esquire* than *Place* of Charing Cross, Tailor, *Brooks*, the Glassman in the Strand, *Adams*, the Leather-dresser in Drury Lane, or any of the Aristocracy of the Rump, who are always set down as *Esquires* in their own advertisements for "*Glory's*" Purity of Election dinners. Mother QUICKLY said, "I am the worse when one says *swagger*;" which is very much the case with me at the sound or sight of the word '*Squire*'. This John HANSON, is John HANSON, the Attorney; and that is enough for him; and, God knows it, brings him a good thumping

place at the Stamp Office. But none of your *Esquires*. When I was a boy 'Squire meant a great gentleman. We used to pull our hats off to 'Squires and stop when they went along, and make them a low bow, and scrape up the ground with our nail shoes. I must have a conference with the boys of the present day to know how they manage it; but, certainly if they be as mannerly as we were and take such men as *Adams* and *Place* upon their own words, it is no wonder that you see so many of them without shoes and hats.—To return, however, for a moment, to the Lords, I am really and sincerely of opinion that they act a wise part when they thus seek for wives out of their own circle. Mr. PAINE observed many years ago, the great injury to themselves which arose from not doing it more frequently; and, if we have a mind to get at a proof of the effects of everlasting inter-marriages in a small circle, we have only to take the trouble to look at the *Quakers* and the *Jews*, who have dwindled down into a race of spindle shanked, bandy legged creatures, whom God seems to have endued with an extraordinary portion of low cunning, as the means of punishing the rest of mankind for their sins.

Seeing the thing in this light, I would advise every young Lord to marry the very prettiest and best grown girl he can find, she will soon *learn her letters*; and as to playing the lady, take a girl from the milk pail, and if she does not play the lady to the tip top in the course of eighteen months, she has not a drop of true country blood in her body.—But no *Esquires*, Mr. *Hanson*, if you please.

SLAVE TRADE.

I PROMISED friend CROPPER a book, a copy of which I am to send to friend WILBERFORCE. This book I shall have ready by the week after next. It is entitled: "American Slave Trade; or, an account of the manner in which the Slave dealers take free people from some of the United States of America, and carry them away, and sell them as Slaves in other of the States; and of the horrible cruelties practised in the carrying on of this most infamous traffic: with reflections on the project of forming a Colony of American blacks in Africa, and certain documents respecting that project."

The appearance of this work has been put off on account of the *plates*, which it has taken some time to engrave, and which are now nearly ready. Every publication that we have seen upon the subject of the Slave Trade, or of negro slavery, takes a *wipe at our West India Planters*, and tends to destroy them and the valuable Colonies in which they are the owners of the soil. Every whining hypocrite has his sneer, his sarcasm, or his calumny ready for this part of our fellow subjects, who have as much right to protection as any of the rest of us have. The book which I am going to publish will shew a little what *others* can do in the slave dealing way.

I am very well aware that two wrongs do not make a right in matters of slavery, any more than in any other matters. But the calumniating hypocrite, CROPPER, has appealed to the American slave holders against the West India slave holders. He has cited the *humanity* of the former in contrast with the "*most infamous traffic*" of the latter. But besides this, I have seen it stated in the newspapers, that the *Congress has passed a resolution*, the amount of which is, that *they* will co-operate with *our Government*, in forming

a squadron of observation on the coast of Africa, to put a stop to the Slave Trade; and this, too, under the show of *humanity*.

Now, for God's sake, I do hope, that the Congress will keep their resolutions to themselves, and their humanity, too; or, if they do not, I hope that some West Indian, at any rate, will be found in the House of Commons to give a check to this project of wasteful expenditure on our part. I respect the Congress very much; but I respect truth and sincerity a great deal more; and I do say that, if, while a negro's head can be cut off with impunity; while a negro can be shot with impunity; while free people can be carried from one state to another and sold as slaves; while these slaves can be collected in droves and marched along chained together, under the very "*Capitol*" at Washington; I do say that, if, under these circumstances, we suffer the Congress to cajole us into the expence of a squadron to prevent the Slave Trade, our Government will bring upon itself universal contempt from us, or that we shall be the silliest and basest of all mankind.

Oh! No! Not a penny would I give to a purpose like this. The moment the proposition were made in Parliament, I would call upon

the Ministers for an account of the conduct of the American Government with regard to the Slave Trade within its own jurisdiction. That account, if true, must tally with the horrid picture that I am about to present to the public, from the pen of an American, written and published upon the spot. I shall prefix a *preface*; necessary *here*, though not in the United States. In this preface I shall explain the relative situation of the different States, and various other matters, without which many parts of the book would not be clearly understood by the reader.

This little book, with the five plates, and a map, if I can so manage it, will be an answer to a good deal of the stuff which we have heard about West India slavery and *American freedom*. It is a pity but Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM could have had it before he embarked for Portugal and Spain, to manufacture Constitutions upon the American plan. I will send one to Mr. CARLILE; and as I sincerely believe him to be a very honest man, it is, I think, likely to induce him, to doubt whether he has judiciously chosen the title of his weekly publication. Mr. JEREMY BENTHAM *knew* nothing about American Governments (for they are many)

and how *should* he know any thing about them? A country, extending in length about seventeen hundred miles; the snow lying six feet deep in one part of it, while the orange trees are in full bloom in another part of it; a Country exhibiting at the one end of it, the industrious, sober, simple, sensible and brave New Englanders, and, at the other end of it, the frivolous, debauched, the lazy and lounging Georgians that have Slaves to fan them while they snore in their easy chairs; a Country, in short, containing Connecticut, and, at the same time, containing the State of Mississippi: what, short of madmen, can, as to matters of Government, speak of such a country *in the lump*, and describe the whole taken together; as a Republic, affording happiness and freedom to its people?

However, the main object of my publishing this book is to expose beforehand the monstrous folly of our wasting our money at any time and especially at a time like this, to co-operate with the humane Congress in order to put a stop to negro slavery elsewhere, while under the sanction of that very Congress, in virtue of its own laws, negro slavery in its severest form is tolerated to the full extent;

and while a Slave Trade of the most dreadful and detestable description is carried on in the very State where that Congress holds its sittings.

I insinuate nothing here, hostile either to the Government, or to the people of America. Generally speaking, never was a kinder or more humane people. But, what is the conclusion, then? Why, that this Slavery is a curse intailed upon the country; that it is a thing not to be got rid of by visionary means; that the wisest of men and the most sincere lovers of liberty, have been and still are, baffled in all their attempts, not only to remove the evil, but to *prevent it from increasing in magnitude*. Giving the Congress and many thousands of worthy men in that Country, full credit for sincerity of intention as to the removal of this evil, and seeing that the evil increases instead of diminishing, am I to make no allowance for my fellow subjects in the West Indies; am I to presume that, because they are doomed to use Slaves or lose their property, they love the situation in which they are placed? And am I to stand silently by, while a canting Old Quaker, or a canting Old Water Saint, calumniates these

my fellow subjects, and, that, too, by the means of a contrast drawn between the West India Slave holders, and those of America? Nay, more, and much more, too, am I to hear of a project on foot for squandering our money, at the instigation of the Congress of America, and upon the foundation of a doctrine cooked up by the at once arrogant and stupid place hunters of the Edinburgh Review?

MANCHESTER PAPER MONEY.

I thought to notice this matter at some length; but the thing is past, it seems, and they have resolved not to have Country rags.

BONES. BONES. BONES.

I thank my Correspondent for his extract of a letter from New York about André's bones. These bones must have been dirt many years ago; but I'll make them rattle in the ears of some people for many a long day to come.